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It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

SINCE those epic days of our first President, America has had a foreign policy. For the most part it has been a dignified and a successful foreign policy. For this reason, the annual meeting of the American Peace Society, to be held the twenty-ninth of this month, will have for part of its program the discussion of that policy to the end that we may see more clearly what a constructive foreign policy for us now must mean. The time for simply opposing the sort of foreign policy provided for in the Treaty of Versailles is past. Our "anti" talk must now give way to something more positive. Hence we need to take account of stock.

Before any constructive foreign policy can be even hopefully discussed it will first be necessary that we know exactly what American foreign policy has been. There must be no confusion about that. Because of this fact we are pleased to note the reception of a little volume issued by the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, entitled *American Foreign Policy*. This volume of 128 pages, bound in boards, meets the obvious need to which we have just referred. Here are found official statements by successive presidents and secretaries of State, statements which we now know have been formally or tacitly accepted by the people of the United States as expressions of their collective judgment as to foreign affairs. We find here statements which we now

realize were of the very substance of the nation's policy, classic declarations of that policy, such as those found in President Washington's Farewell Address; in Thomas Jefferson's First Inaugural; in James Monroe's Seventh Annual Message; in James K. Polk's First Annual Message; in James Buchanan's Second Annual Message; in Ulysses S. Grant's Special Message to the Senate, May 31, 1870; in James G. Blaine's call for the First International American Conference, his Address of Welcome, and his Closing Address before the Conference; in Grover Cleveland's Third Annual Message; in John Hay's Memorandum to the Imperial German Embassy; in Theodore Roosevelt's Fourth Annual Message, together with his special message to the Senate, February 15, 1905; in Elihu Root's address on "The Real Monroe Doctrine." The vitally relevant portions of these papers are all here.

Notwithstanding the tendency to overlook or minimize the important constructive work of the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907; notwithstanding, as President Nicholas Murray Butler says in the Introduction, the great war appears to have brushed rudely aside "the definite assurances and the high hopes which were the result of those two conferences," notwithstanding these facts, it is undoubtedly true, as it will yet appear, "that the work of the Hague Conferences remains as the surest foundation for any new plan of international co-operation that is really practicable. A restudy by Americans of the work of the two Hague Conferences is vitally important, since it is from that work that the new task of construction must start." Thus there has been wisely incorporated in this volume those significant facts of the two conferences relating to our constructive foreign policy. Here we have Secretary Hay's instructions to the American delegates to the Hague Conference of 1899, and the reports of this delegation to the Secretary of State; the instructions to the American delegates in 1907, and the report of the delegates, and other papers, all significant expressions of American foreign policies.

That the picture of America's foreign policy up to the entrance of the United States upon the World War may be complete, the book wisely contains also the "Recommendations of Habana Concerning International Organization" adopted by the American Institute of International Law, at its second session in the city of Habana, January 23, 1917, recommendations which, it may be added, were adopted the day before in Washington by the American Peace Society. Accompanying these

"Recommendations" is what President Butler appropriately calls a "luminous commentary," by James Brown Scott, Director of the Division of International Law of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The book closes with the provision of law declaring the international policy of the United States, a provision found in the "Statutes at Large of the United States," volume 39 (64th Congress), page 618, a statute framed and introduced by two members of the Executive Committee of the American Peace Society, the Honorable James L. Slayden and Honorable Walter L. Hensley.

In these piping times when our views relating to the outside world seem to be suspended between the dilemma of an irreconcilable President on the one hand and an irreconcilable opposition on the other; at a time when a war is being waged between Poland and Russia along a battle front of 400 miles, with the possibility of extending itself through Finland and on to the Baltic; at a time when the Italian Premier has fallen because of his leaning toward a reconciliation with the Russian Bolsheviks; at a time when the acid tests of an enlightened foreign policy seem all to have broken down, the supreme duty of intelligent America is to acquaint herself with the foreign policy that has been hers, for any successful policy for the years immediately before us can be developed only out of a perfect familiarity with those foreign policies, be they policies which have failed, or those which have succeeded.

LET THE WAR HYSTERIA CEASE

IT IS time for the hysterias of war to cease. Searching houses, seizing property, arresting persons without warrant, is war. As a writer in the *New Republic* phrases it:

"Mr. Palmer and his counselors and agents have inspired and have conducted a reign of mass-law, of mass-inquiries, mass-searches, mass-seizures, mass-raids, mass-arrests, mass-incarcerations, violating in principle the spirit of law and violating inhumanly in practice the specific purposes of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution—all to the knowledge of members of the House of Representatives and all without impeachment by the House."

Such behavior, characteristic of war, should not be possible in times of peace.

A resolution has been introduced into the House of Representatives proposing the impeachment of Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, because Mr. Post has dismissed some of the aliens charged with offenses said to warrant their exportation. The resolution against Mr. Post does not charge any corrupt or wrongful conduct. The only suggestion urged against him is that he has erred in the exercise of his judgment as a quasi-

judicial officer. It is not proved that he has even misinterpreted the law, or that he has disobeyed or departed in any respect from the instructions of his superior officer, the Secretary of Labor. On the contrary, it appears that the specific American things which Mr. Post has done are to refuse to exact excessive bail; to refuse to compel men to be witnesses against themselves; to insist upon speedy hearings for the accused; to insist upon due process of law in each case, assuming the presumption of innocence provided for under the principles of American freedom; to refuse to recognize the validity of illegal searches and seizures; to require that the accused be informed of the nature of the accusation against him; to grant the right of the accused to counsel. Surely such a behavior is warranted by the laws laid down by the courts. To condemn Mr. Post for such behavior is simply war hysteria.

At this writing we are informed, however, that the House committee, abandoning the impeachment proceedings, will probably censure Mr. Post and recommend his removal. Even this is an extra-constitutional usurpation of authority on the part of the committee. With the exception of its power to impeach, the Congress is not a condemning but a legislative body. From our point of view, it seems quite absurd and indefensible for a committee of Congress formally to criticise an officer of another division of the government, equal and co-ordinate with the legislative. It would be not only extra-constitutional, it would be a meddling and improper interference. Such a committee has no more right to behave in such a way than it would have to recommend to the President its candidate for the position of Secretary of State. Action against Mr. Post seems to us a part and parcel of the war hysteria.

What is needed now is not repression, but discussion. As Mr. Glenn Frank, writing in the *Century* for July, 1919, turns the thought:

"Government by discussion breaks down the tyranny of fixed custom; continuous public debate on public problems is the root of change and progress; community discussion breeds tolerance; it makes for steady, instead of intermittent, progress. In fact, common counsel, public debate, community discussion, call it what you will, underlies the constructive solution of all the vexed situations that a nation faces in a time of readjustment and change."

We need to return now to the rights of the forum, lyceum, chautauqua, and free speech everywhere. The movement among universities for public discussion, package libraries, and informing service of the University Extension divisions in the States is in the right direction. We are told that the State universities find it possible to conduct some kind of public discussion and informing service now in practically every State, and